

ANGOLA: ACCOUNTABLE, DEMOCRATIC AND PARTICIPATORY GOVERNMENT
NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT NO. 654-A-00-99-00084-00
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Program budget: \$2,212,486
Effective Dates: 09/01/99 to 04/15/02

Expenses as of June 30, 2001: \$1,479,224

I. SUMMARY

NDI has continued implementing the project to promote and support the ongoing constitution-making process in Angola. NDI-sponsored programs continue to be the only ones that have shed light on the process and on the position of the parties on the main issues; the commission and political parties themselves have not conducted any consultation of their members.

Selected results this quarter include the following:

- Ten radio programs focusing on the constitutional matters were produced and broadcast in Luanda on Luanda Antena Comercial (LAC).
- Forty radio programs in five national languages – Kikongo, Kimbundu, Oxikahana, Tchokwe, Umbundu – were prepared and broadcast nationwide on Radio N’Gola Yetu.
- Sixty-seven people called during the LAC constitutional debates, and 10 people wrote to Radio N’Gola Yetu expressing their views and requesting that the program continue.
- In four of the eight provinces where community meetings between MPs and the electorate took place, the MPs returned to citizens in order to describe the steps they have taken toward the resolution of discussed problems.
- In Viana, where MPs Alexandre Andre and Manuel Savihemba met two different communities, three major aspects were raised: health, education and transportation. As a result, these aspects have received greater government attention:
 - five small clinics were opened;
 - two schools are being built; and
 - transportation experienced significant improvement with the operation of a new bus route linking Viana to Luanda, where most users hold a job or seek income.
- In the Musseque Quicoca, province of Bengo, the government has offered the community a plough and cattle to improve agricultural performance, and there is a plan to set up a water system to benefit the Musseque and surrounding areas. This action is a result of feedback that an MP received in November 2000 at an NDI-sponsored community forum.

II. BACKGROUND

Political Developments

During the quarter, the Constitutional Commission met several times, but the main issue still under negotiation -- the level of decentralization -- was not resolved consensually. The opposition has conceded other contending areas, such as a stronger presidency and a unicameral legislative system, with the hope of gaining acceptance for elections of provincial governors. The proposal has not been accepted, and the negotiations remain stalled.

At its last meeting, the majority party proposed to move forward by starting to draft the parts of the Constitution that have been accepted consensually. The opposition did not accept, and

some parties threatened to walk out of the Commission, although the threat did not have much effect.

The revision process is still very closed, and the Commission has not involved any other stakeholders. NDI-sponsored programs are the only ones that have shed light on the process and on the position of the parties on the main issues; political parties themselves have not conducted any consultation of their members.

Program Background

Target provinces: Luanda, Huíla, Kuanza Sul, Bengo

Description of activity

The activities include informing the public, promoting meetings between citizens and elected representatives and sharing information.

NDI works with three subgrant partners, the National Counseling Centre (NCC), the Leonardo Sikufunde Shalom Angola Association (known by its Portuguese acronym ALSSA) and the Media Cooperative Association (MIACOOOP). Given the uncertainty in NDI's funding picture at that time, however, the only partner funded during the quarter was MIACOOOP.

NDI's agreements with ALSSA and NCC ended in February. During the quarter each partner prepared separate proposals that were reviewed by NDI. The NCC project was approved June 23, while for future activities the process is still being finalized with ALSSA.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

This section highlights activities conducted by each partner; the advocacy campaign; and developments in monitoring and evaluation of NDI's program.

MIACOOOP

MIACOOOP-sponsored two-hour radio programs carried by Luanda Antena Comercial (LAC), an independent radio station broadcasting FM in Luanda, have started to become a familiar fixture in Luanda. Listener participation has steadily increased from an average of 13 calls per month to 40 in June. The increase reflects the importance that the program is assuming in the constitutional process and in the daily life of the citizens of Luanda, improving the quality of the debates and demonstrating the more active participation of civil society.

The radio program's debates focused on the issues still under negotiation, namely the election of the provincial governors; the format of the parliament as unicameral or bicameral body; and the power of the president of the republic. Most listeners and callers support the idea of electing provincial governors and oppose the ruling party's proposal, which provides for elections only at municipal and communal levels.

Three of the radio debates featured upcoming elections announced to take place in 2002 by President Eduardo dos Santos. These debates got the most calls, with most callers agreeing that that is not possible to hold elections in a country at war. Other callers raised the following opinions: that a peace has to include Jonas Savimbi, leader of Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA); that many citizens are afraid of elections because they think that its realization will prolong the armed conflict; and that the majority party, the Popular Movement for

the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), is not interested in elections because it is doing nothing to create the appropriate conditions. Others were concerned that absenteeism will be a big problem so it is necessary to explain to Angolans the importance of elections.

MPLA leaders and members have appeared at the debates after a period of indifference to the program. Their participation increases the value of the debates and allows citizens to get a general overview of the constitutional process and of Angolan political life. Twenty-five persons have participated in the debates, including 10 MPs together with political party leaders, historians, lawyers and religious leaders.

The radio debates have been summarized in five national languages (Kikongo, Kimbundu, Oxikahana, Tchokwe, and Umbundu) and broadcast nationwide on Radio N'Gola Yetu, a state radio station, in half-hour segments. Many listeners have written to show their appreciation of the program, saying that the program is an initiative that helps Angolans and raises their interest in understanding laws and politics. Many pointed out that it is the first time they learn about their duties as well as their rights. One listener wrote and asked whether the new laws will be complied with, because he "registers that in Angola laws are never complied with." Another writer wanted MIACOOOP to talk about elections; he feared that the events of 1992, when there was peace for only eight months, will be repeated.

Four listeners wrote MIACOOOP asking it to conduct debates in the national languages in order to talk about the constitution and to answer questions. One listener said, "The Umbundu program lacks the sounds, that is, the voices of politicians and citizens, in that language as it has been done in Portuguese." In addition, many callers and writers would like the program to be longer than half an hour, with the belief that the debate is too important to be conducted in such a short length of time.

Indicative of its interest in continuing the program, Luanda Antena Comercial (LAC) lowered for an additional program the cost of broadcast time from \$325 to \$260 per broadcast debate. MIACOOOP is also exploring the possibility of changing the broadcast hour, presently from 8 to 10 AM on Saturday, to a more popular time slot.

ALSSA

Following the recommendations of the Lubango constitutional forum held in November 2000, ALSSA is preparing a follow-up program that focuses on the communities of the provinces of Namibe, Cunene and Huíla about how to protect their interests, particularly relative to their habits and customs, and to influence the on-going constitutional revision.

ALSSA also proposes to encourage communities to solve current disputes, as has been carried out in rural areas of Quihita and Quipungo. The methodology proposed involves training, community meetings with MPs and the production of radio programs in Portuguese and local languages.

In anticipation of the program, 30 young community leaders have already been trained in the communities of Quihita and Gambos. They have been informing the communities about the Lubango meeting and the declaration that was adopted. These leaders have sought to educate and lead people in land disputes against communities' foreign interests. These leaders are not traditional ones, but rather young people within the community, capable of representing and competently arguing in favor of the whole community. However, their mandate does not allow them to make decisions without full consultations with their respective communities.

ALSSA plans to enter into agreements with the National Counseling Centre (NCC) to promote and organize community forums with MPs in the provinces of Namibe, Huíla and Cunene. The forums are expected to be an incentive for communities to address lawmakers and to lobby for a constitution that reflects their aspirations and interests. These forums will be an innovation, since there has not been any contact between MPs elected in 1992 and their constituents. ALSSA would organize the communities and prepare the topics, most of which would be related to land issues, while NCC would contact and assist in the transport of MPs to their municipalities. ALSSA also seeks an agreement with MIACOOOP for media assistance whenever required by ALSSA, as well as for the reporting of relevant cases to the whole country or even abroad. Typically the cases that ALSSA would report refer to citizens whose political rights have been violated, or people who have been imprisoned without following due process. This, however, is a very sensitive area where ALSSA vacillates between being more outspoken about abuses and, on the other hand, not wanting to put the spotlight on the people involved. Often the citizen whose rights have been abused approaches ALSSA to seek protection, but when ALSSA wants to go to the next step -- involve a lawyer and/or come out publicly about the unjust treatment received by the citizen -- the citizen becomes afraid and decides to drop the case.

ALSSA's constitutional campaign has raised important issues in relation to the land problems experienced by many rural communities. Although there have been no large victories, small barriers have been overcome. For example, as a result of ALSSA's intervention, several government delegations, including ones from the Ministries of Territorial Administration and Agriculture, have visited Quihita and Gambos, in Huíla. These two localities are considered the two most problematic areas regarding land disputes. In addition, rural communities are organizing interest groups, which are in contact with the government, and the communities are preparing a proposal, based on traditional and ancestral realities, on land laws that would reflect their points of view and interests. The education campaign has prevented, for the time being, government licensing of land to big farmers, a practice that was a detriment to local groups, communities and families.

National Counseling Centre

During the last quarter, NCC followed up on activities developed in the first phase of the project *Talk to People Not in Their Name*, which began last November. An NCC member visited the communities where meetings had been held between citizens and deputies in order to ascertain whether the problems and issues raised during the meetings had been addressed, and to check whether deputies had organized more meetings. In addition, NCC developed their work program for the next phase of the project.

NCC visited 30 times the communities where it had organized meetings, and found that, in half of the communities, the deputy that had participated in the community meeting had returned. However, as expected, there were significant differences between the return rate in Luanda and in the rest of the country: in Luanda all the communities were visited once again, whereas in only three of the provinces -- Bengo, Kwanza Norte and Kwanza Sul -- did the deputy return. Regarding the MPs' capacity to assist the community in addressing the problems identified, overall only 11 percent of the problems identified were solved; if Luanda's results are omitted, the rate drops to 8 percent.

The issues raised during the community meetings most often involve the complete lack of government services (water, schools, health posts as well as a perceived indifference to the fate of the community). The solution requires a multi-front approach and a re-prioritization of government expenditures. Although the opposition has systematically voted against the government budget (in which the defense sector receives a lion's share of funding), the budget

has passed with the votes of the majority party. The challenge for NCC and the communities is to work with the deputies to bring up their agenda for national discussion and to propose solutions.

During the visits, the NCC also surveyed the communities and MPs to assess the importance and relevance of NCC program involvement. Both sides considered the program of major importance and encouraged its continuation. All MPs that participated in the first phase of the project are willing to participate in community meetings again.

NCC also met with the deputies that had participated in the first phase of the project. Most had positive comments about the programs continuation. This, however, has not translated into the deputies feeling the need to be more active in response to the electorate. Given that the deputies have been in office since 1992 and have had their mandate extended twice, the incentive to be accountable is not present. The NCC program tries to address this gap in Angola's democracy by working from the bottom -- engaging with the grassroots to put pressure on their elected representatives to be accountable.

The NCC developed its future work program during the meetings with MPs representing different political parties, among them Agostinho Ramos (MPLA), Abel Chivukuvuku (UNITA), Lindo Bernardo Tito (Party of Social Renewal - PRS) and Alexandre André Sebastião (Party of Alliance Youth Factory-workers and Farmers - PAJOCA). The meetings allowed for the exchange of experience and the further understanding of a context and base upon which the program should operate. In addition, the topics and dates were also decided by consensus with MPs. The NCC proposes to organize community debates in the provinces of Cabinda, Uíge, Kuanza Norte, Namibe, Kuando Kubango, Cunene, Bié, Kuanza Sul and Lunda Sul that will cover the constitutional process. The objective of the new activities will be to improve citizens' participation in order to have a more responsive government and strengthen the Angolan democratic process.

NCC began talks this quarter with MIACOOOP and ALSSA to establish partnerships in order to complement its program and increase synergy and efficiency in the overall NDI constitutional program.

One member of the NCC, Daniel Nzinga, participated in a training session organized by World Learning seeking to develop advocacy skills and in building coalitions. Mr. Nzinga is working to develop an advocacy campaign with the NCC team, which has considered several potential topics, including the rights of widows, violations of human rights by police officers, land issues in Luanda, HIV/AIDS and electoral education.

Given that the objective of the NCC project is to promote greater contact between citizens and their elected representatives, NDI suggested focusing a campaign to pressure the National Assembly to comply with its own internal regulations that calls for deputies to visit at least three times a year the province where they were elected. NCC will be approaching its contacts to obtain a copy of the internal regulations of the National Assembly and the list of visits that deputies undertook last year in order to compare the numbers of time deputies traveled abroad versus in-country.

NCC Constitutional Forum

Apart from the project *Talk to People Not in Their Name*, NCC is organizing a constitutional forum that would bring together MPs from the Constitutional Commission, members of government, judges, politicians and representatives of civil society to discuss the ongoing constitutional process.

The forum would address several topics:

- customary law and the constitution;
- women in the elaboration of the constitution;
- human rights and the constitution;
- causes of the Angolan conflict and the viability of the constitution as a means of overcoming these obstacles; and
- the constitution and the decentralization process.

To prepare this event, NCC met with both individuals and institutions, including MPs, members of the government, attorneys, judges of the Supreme Court, USAID, political parties, church leaders and civil society representatives. In the next month, a joint NCC/NDI delegation will be visiting Cabinda to meet government and other official entities to explore the possibility of organizing the event in that province. Initially the forum was planned for Uíge or Malange, but, due to security problems, Cabinda is the most probable venue.

Advocacy Campaign

Several meetings were held to discuss an advocacy campaign, an area where none of the subgrant partners have experience. As partners work to identify a theme, the primary criterion adopted for activities is that they be feasible. Different themes have been identified, such as pressuring the Constitutional Commission to start including more stakeholders in the revision process in order to ensure compliance by the National Assembly with internal regulations calling for MPs to visit the provinces three times per year. The three subgrant partners are still working at deciding on the theme and devising the strategy.

Monitoring and Evaluation

As part of NDI's ongoing program, USAID has requested the services of a consultant to monitor and evaluate the impact of the program of NDI along with other Democracy and Governance (D&G) partners. During the quarter, in partnership with World Learning and the Mississippi Consortium for International Development, USAID's D&G partners, the scope of work was prepared and sent to seven firms. Based on the criteria adopted -- quality and responsiveness of proposal, qualifications and relevant experience of key personnel, demonstrated ability of contractor and cost-effectiveness of the contractor's approach -- KPMG was selected.

KPMG demonstrated a contextual understanding of the political, democratic and social state of Angola. The monitoring of results will require close follow-up to general democratization activities undertaken locally. Information on local activities will be documented, and working relationships will be maintained with institutions and organizations with a role in democracy.

KPMG will operate in Luanda, Benguela and Huíla and will assist in the Performance Monitoring Plan by collecting data, designing and managing a database for the data compatible with DG partner needs, inputting such data, assisting in systematizing procedures, assisting in improving the quality of evaluation efforts as well as aligning evaluation procedures with USAID's strategic objective: "*Constituencies promoting democratic governance strengthened.*"

Other Activities

In Luanda and Bengo province, NDI has provided support to Horizonte, a local NGO focusing on the participative development of the provinces. Horizonte conducted civic education

training and has helped the communities develop human rights groups. In the Praia de Santiago, located in the Province of Luanda about 15 kilometers from the capital, the community is completely isolated and receives no benefit from the Government -- there are no schools, no health posts, no shops, no water, no electricity. The training is helping the community organize itself, and they have elected three leaders. They are inviting deputies to visit the community and plan to ask them to serve as intermediaries in order to establish contact with provincial administrators in order to request that their community benefit from government services.

NDI was approached by two MPs seeking support to invite an international expert who would provide technical assistance to the opposition parties. The expert would assist opposition parties in constitutional negotiations and would bring in international experience to provide alternatives to the opposition and draft position papers of the key issues. Recognizing that the Commission has not been able to move forward in the negotiation process, NDI was concerned with the provision of partisan support and the selection of an expert. NDI advised the MPs to explore the possibility of having the commission itself request the assistance of the expert and seek the support of a German foundation because the expert is German. NDI also suggested that the opposition draft the terms of reference for the support needed and identify alternate candidates.

III. RESULTS

Intermediate Result 6.1: Greater availability of information on key issues

Indicator 6.1.1: More media coverage of key D/G issues

- Ten radio programs focusing on the constitutional matters were produced and broadcast in Luanda on Luanda Antena Comercial (LAC).
- Forty radio programs in five national languages – Kikongo, Kimbundu, Oxikahana, Tchokwe, Umbundu – were prepared and broadcasted nationwide on Radio N’Gola Yetu.

Indicator 6.1.2: Number of people reached by education efforts of target Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

- In the Praia de Santiago, as a result of NDI’s civic education program, the three communities (Sarico 1, 2 and 3) have each elected a leader, one of whom is a woman.

Indicator 6.1.3: Number of people reached by media efforts

- Sixty-seven people called during the LAC constitutional debates, and 10 people wrote to Radio N’Gola Yetu expressing their views and requesting that the program continue.

Intermediate Result 6.3: Improved government-constituency relations

Indicator 6.3.1: Constituency relations survey

- NDI has begun working on this survey with KPMG.

Indicator 6.3.2: Increased government-constituency contacts

- In four of the eight provinces where community meetings between MPs and the electorate took place, the MPs returned to citizens to describe the steps they have taken toward the resolution of discussed problems.
- In Viana, where MPs Alexandre Andre and Manuel Savihemba met two different communities, three major aspects were raised: health, education and transportation. As a result, these aspects have received greater government attention:
 - five small clinics were opened;
 - two schools are being built; and
 - transportation experienced significant improvement with the operation of a new bus route linking Viana to Luanda, where most users hold a job or seek income.

- In the Musseque Quicoca province of Bengo, the government has offered the community a plough and cattle to improve agricultural performance, and there is a plan to set up a water system to benefit the Musseque and surrounding areas.
- As a result of ALSSA's intervention, government delegations, including the ones from the Ministries of Territorial Administration and Agriculture, visited Quihita and Gambos in Huíla Province. These two localities are considered the two most problematic areas regarding land disputes.
- Rural communities are organizing interest groups that are in permanent contact with the government, and are preparing a proposal on land laws that reflects their point of view and interests, based on traditional and ancestral realities. The education campaign has put a temporary halt on the government's licensing of land to big farmers, a practice that is a detriment to local groups, communities and families.

IV. Other Activities/Administration

From May 14 to 25, NDI Program officer Augusto Santana participated in the first Human Rights Colloquium held in Brazil by the University of São Paulo and the Catholic University, in cooperation with Columbia University of the United States. The Ford Foundation funded Mr. Santana's participation.

The event brought together activists, professionals, politicians and academics to discuss legal, social and political aspects of the current human rights situation in the world. The topics included public policies; the African human rights system; the international mechanism for human rights protection; human rights and globalization; and advocacy. In addition, participants learned about experiences from Latin America, Timor, Africa, Asia, Brazil, and the U.S.

The colloquium exposed Mr. Santana to new experiences and knowledge necessary to the strengthening of the advocacy campaign that NDI is preparing to implement in partnership with the three Angolan subgrantees. In addition, the colloquium allowed the establishment of contacts that can be relevant for the development of NDI's Angola.

Administrative issues

Rental prices have gone down in Luanda, and, based on the market prices, NDI has been able to negotiate with the present landlord to lower office rent by \$700 per month, a savings of 32 percent, starting in July.

Following repairs, NDI's existing vehicle broke down again in the beginning of the month. The arrival of the replacement parts and the mechanical work took about three months, which led NDI to rent a vehicle during the period. With USAID approval, NDI has purchased a new vehicle that is expected to function more reliably.

Isabel Emerson visited Washington, D.C., to participate in an NDI meeting to take stock and review NDI's culture and operations. The meeting was an opportunity to enhance a sense of the NDI community across geographic boundaries. Emerson was also able to collect material on public advocacy an area where USAID has requested NDI to conduct work.

Upon the departure of Patricia Keefer, NDI's former regional director based in South Africa, Isabel Emerson traveled in May to NDI's regional office in Johannesburg to meet Shari Bryan, the new regional director. During the one-day meeting, the status of ongoing regional programs and the impact of the change of directors in determining the structure of a regional office were considered.

V. EVALUATION

Often, NDI's programs prompt citizens to participate more actively in the political life of the country. While in Luanda there is more tolerance for political differences, in the provinces the situation is different: for example, the people who have worked with ALSSA have been accused of being members of UNITA, and in some cases were even harassed and impeded physically from leaving their municipalities. A woman from Quipungo that participated in the Lubango forum came to Luanda to present the recommendations to the Constitutional Commission: when she returned, she suffered reprisals from local administrators. However, the attitudes of the authorities, far from discouraging the communities, are uniting them as more and more citizens are becoming aware of their duties and responsibilities in the Angolan democratic process.

To address these issues, NDI has maintained contacts with World Learning, an American NGO focusing on the defense of human rights, and with the Human Rights Department of the United Nations Observer Mission in Angola, to seek cooperation in defending the political rights of citizens. In NDI's next large public forum, the issue of security and protection of the participants will be addressed.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

During the next quarter, NDI will continue to support the production of radio programs at LAC, Radio N'Gola Yetu and provincial radio stations. NDI will also, in partnership with NCC, organize community meetings between citizens and their electorate; in addition, it will organize a large public forum planned to take place in Cabinda. In partnership with ALSSA, NDI will work to promote greater knowledge about Angola's democracy and the tools available to engage citizens in democratic processes.

Since NDI's three partners struggle to define a broad advocacy campaign in accordance with the USAID Performance Management Plan and strategic plan, NDI is considering approaching USAID for additional funding and possible redirection of its program to allow the invitation of an expert in advocacy work who would provide training.